5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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867 that they could not see far; that their teeth were gone, so that
861 they could not chew their food. Only discomfort and misery
[888] await the old. Much better, while the body is strong and in its prime, while the sight is clear, the teeth sound, and the hair still black and long, to die in battle fighting bravely. The example of successful warriors would be held up to them, and the boys urged to emulate their brave deeds. To such advice some boys would listen, while others would not heed it.

[577] The girls also were instructed. All Indians like to see women more or less sober and serious-minded, not giggling all the time, not silly. A Blackfoot man who had two or three girls would, as they grew large, often talk to
[237] them and give them good advice. After watching them, and taking the measure of their characters, he would one day get a buffalo's front foot and ornament it fantastically with feathers. When the time came, he would call one of his daughters to him and say to her: "Now I wish you to stand here in front of me and look me straight in the eye without laughing. No matter what I may do, do not laugh." Then he would sing a funny song, shaking the foot in the girl's face in time to the song, and looking her steadily in the eye. Very likely before he had finished, she would begin to giggle. If she did this, the father would stop singing and tell her to finish laughing; and when she was serious again, he would again warn her not to laugh, and then would repeat his song. This time perhaps she would not laugh while he was singing. He would go through with this same performance before all his daughters. To such as seemed to have the steadiest characters, he would give good advice. He would talk to each girl of the duties of a woman's life and warn her against the dangers which she might expect to meet.

At the time of the Medicine Lodge, he would take her to the lodge and point out to her the Medicine Lodge woman.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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Although a woman, all her life, was subject to some one's orders, either parent, relative, or husband, a man from his earliest childhood was free and independent. His father would not punish him for any misconduct, his mother dared not. At an early age he was taught to ride and shoot, and horses were given to him. By the time he was twelve, he had probably been on a war expedition or two. As a rule in later times, young men married when they were seventeen or eighteen years of age; and often they resided for several years with their fathers, until the family became so large that there was not room for them all in the lodge.

There were always in the camp a number of boys, orphans, who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing.

Among the Blackfeet, all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary. Formerly each gens was governed by a chief, who was entitled to his office by virtue of his bravery and generosity. The head chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes from their own number, and was usually the one who could show the best record in war, as proved at the Medicine Lodge,[1] at which time he was elected; and for the ensuing year he was invested with the supreme power. But no matter how brave a man might have been, or how successful in war, he could not hope to be the chief either of a gens or of the tribe, unless he was kind-hearted, and willing to share his prosperity with the poor. For this reason, a chief was never a wealthy man, for what he acquired with one hand he gave away with the other. It was he who decided when the people should move camp, and where they should go. But in this, as in all other important affairs, he generally asked the advice of the minor chiefs.

The *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* (All Comrades) were directly under

[1] See chapter on Religion.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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171 him. About that time, a ball from a carbine hit the Sioux
555 and knocked him down.
726 Then there was a race between Baptiste and the Pawnee next behind him, to see which should count *coup* on the fallen man. Baptiste was nearest to him and reached him first, but just as he got to him, and was leaning over from his horse, to strike the dead man, the animal shied at the body, swerving to one side, and he failed to touch it. The horse ridden by the other Pawnee ran right over the Sioux, and his rider leaned down and touched him.

Baptiste claimed the *coup* — although acknowledging that he had not actually touched the man — on the ground that he had exposed himself to all the danger, and would have hit the man if his horse had not swerved as it did from the body; but the Pawnees would not allow it, and all gave the credit of the *coup* to the other boy, because he had actually touched the enemy.

On another occasion three or four young men started on the warpath from the Pawnee village. When they came near to Spotted Tail's camp on the Platte River, they crossed the stream, took some horses, and got them safely across the river. Then one of the boys recrossed, went back to the camp, and cut loose another horse. He had almost got this one out of the camp, when an Indian came out of a lodge near by, and sat down. The Pawnee shot the Sioux, counted *coup* on him, scalped him, and then hurried across the river with the whole Sioux camp in pursuit. When the party returned to the Pawnee village, this boy was the only one who received credit for a *coup*.

555 Among the Blackfeet the capture of a shield, bow, gun,
726 war bonnet, war shirt, or medicine pipe was deemed a *coup*.

555 Nothing gave a man a higher place in the estimation of
●577 the people than the counting of *coups*, for, I repeat, personal bravery is of all qualities the most highly respected by

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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Indians. On special occasions, as has been said, men counted over again in public their *coups*. This served to gratify personal vanity, and also to incite the young men to the performance of similar brave deeds. Besides this, they often made a more enduring record of these acts, by reproducing them pictographically on robes, cowskins, and other hides. There is now in my possession an illuminated cowskin, presented to me by Mr. J. Kipp, which contains the record of the *coups* and the most striking events in the life of Red Crane, a Blackfoot warrior, painted by himself. These pictographs are very rude and are drawn after the style common among Plains Indians, but no doubt they were sufficiently lifelike to call up to the mind of the artist each detail of the stirring events which they record.

The Indian warrior who stood up to relate some brave deed which he had performed was almost always in a position to prove the truth of his statements. Either he had the enemy's scalp, or some trophy captured from him, to produce as evidence, or else he had a witness of his feat in some companion. A man seldom boasted of any deed unless he was able to prove his story, and false statements about exploits against the enemy were most unusual. Temporary peace was often made between tribes usually at war, and, at the friendly meetings which took place during such times of peace, former battles were talked over, the performances of various individuals discussed, and the acts of particular men in the different fights commented on. In this way, if any man had falsely claimed to have done brave deeds, he would be detected.

An example of this occurred many years ago among the Cheyennes. At that time, there was a celebrated chief of the Skidi tribe of the Pawnee Nation whose name was Big Eagle. He was very brave, and the Cheyennes greatly feared him, and it was agreed among them that the man who could count *coup* on Big Eagle should be made war

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Poor families without an able-bodied hunter in their group or unable to borrow buffalo horses were forced to rely upon the charity of the wealthy for their buffalo meat. When the chase took place near camp, some poor people took their dogs or scrawny horses out where the buffalo were butchered. There they generally could find successful hunters who would give them meat.

Once an old couple went out from camp hoping to receive some meat from the hunters. They found a young man lying beside a partly butchered buffalo. The old people threw water in his face and he did not move. Thinking he was dead, they started back to camp to tell the people. When they had gone a short distance, they turned around and saw the young man standing up butchering the animal. When he returned to camp, the old people told him they had brought him back to life. Then he reluctantly gave them some of the best cuts of his meat. Other people claimed the young fellow had played dead to avoid giving any of his meat to the aged couple. He was nicknamed Playing-Dead-Beside-the-Buffalo. This trait of stinginess was detested by the Blackfeet.

In summer, when all the bands of the tribe gathered prior to the sun dance, the head chief, through his announcer, declared the hunting regulation in force. All the Indians fully understood that this meant that anyone who sought to kill buffalo on his own before the tribal hunt was organized would be severely punished by members of the men's societies chosen to police the camp. Anyone caught disturbing the buffalo herds upon which the whole camp relied for their subsistence had his meat taken from him, his weapons broken, his clothing torn, and perhaps his riding gear destroyed by the police.[4]

Among those bands well supplied with horses, the traditional winter method of hunting buffalo by driving them into pounds or over high cliffs was falling into disuse. The last Piegan buffalo drive took place in the 1850's. The peculiar circumstances of

[4] John C. Ewers, "The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bulletin* 159, 153-66.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

the young man, standing up, butchering the buffalo. After he returned to camp they told him they had brought him back to life. He then reluctantly gave them some of the best parts of his meat. Other people claimed the young man had deliberately played dead to avoid giving any of his meat to the aged couple. He became known by the name Playing-Dead-beside-the-Buffalo. As David Thompson observed a century and a half ago, stinginess was a trait detested by the Blackfoot. He noted that the "tent of a sick man is well supplied" after a chase, and that deaths from hunger were very rare (Thompson, 1916, pp. 355–356). One of the recognized responsibilities of band leadership among the Blackfoot was that of feeding the poor.

REGULATION OF THE SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

In summer, when all of the bands of a tribe gathered prior to the Sun Dance encampment, the head chief, through his announcer, declared the hunting regulation in force. All tribal members understood this meant that anyone who sought to kill buffalo on his own before the tribal hunt was organized would be severely punished by society members selected to act as policemen. A century ago Mitchell (1855, pp. 686–687) explained, "This policy is obvious, as one individual might frighten off a herd of buffalo sufficient to feed the whole camp." Piegan regulation of buffalo hunting was observed by David Thompson (1916, pp. 358–359) prior to 1800:

> The same evening a Chief walked through the camp informing them that as the Bisons were too far off for hunting they had given orders to the Soldiers to allow no person to hunt until further notice. Such an order is sure to find some tents ill provided. While we were there, hunting was forbidden on this account. Two tents which had gambled away their things, even to dried provisions, had to steal a march on the Soldiers under pretence of looking after their horses; but finding they did not return were watched. In the evening of the second day, they approached the camp, with their horses loaded with meat which the Soldiers seized, and the owners quickly gave up; the former distributed the Meat to the tents that had many women and children, and left nothing to the owners; but those that had received the Meat, in the night sent them a portion of it. Not a murmur was heard, every one said they had acted right.

The punishment in that instance was much less severe than that described by Mountain Chief as Piegan punishment about 1850. The culprit's weapons were broken, his clothes torn, his saddle broken to pieces, his rope and whip cut into small bits, and his horse's tail bobbed (Dixon, 1913, pp. 109–110). Informants recalled that in their youth the disobedient man's meat was taken from him, his weapons were broken, and his clothing was torn by the police. My data suggest that the punishment was not standardized, but varied in proportion to the disturbance to the buffalo herd on the part of the culprit and the supply of meat in the camp.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

So he will make a show of liberality by offering the best horses he has. Any other property he may offer along with the horses will be of the best quality—blankets, robes, guns or other articles.

Wissler (1912 a, p. 276) found that the prestige gained from ownership of sacred bundles was never lost. "Even though one may fall a victim to utter poverty, he may still, if the ex-owner of many bundles, be spoken of as wealthy and powerful." The wealthy man who was also kind and generous need never fear reduction to abject poverty through loss of his horses. His many friends and relatives would give him horses to care for the needs of his household."[1] However, the wealthy man who was stingy was genuinely disliked by his fellow men. Generosity was felt to be a responsibility of the wealthy. They were expected to loan horses to the poor for hunting and moving camp, to give food to the poor, and to give away horses occasionally. They were expected to pay more in intratribal barter than were Indians who were not well to do. If the man of wealth had political ambitions it was particularly important that he be lavish with his gifts in order to gain a large number of followers to support his candidacy.

In numbers the wealthy comprised by far the smallest of the three Blackfoot social classes. It is doubtful if they totaled 5 percent of the Blackfoot population in buffalo days.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The middle-class Blackfoot owned from 5 to less than 40 horses. He was economically independent, possessing enough horses to hunt buffalo and move camp. Generally he could obtain adequate meat for his family, although many middle-class families could prepare and transport little winter reserve. He lived in a smaller lodge and entertained much less frequently or lavishly than the rich man. He had fewer robes to trade and consequently received less of the trader's desirable goods. Yet he tried, to the best of his ability to follow the styles set by people of wealth in clothing, ornaments, weapons, tools, household utensils, riding, and transport gear. But his possessions were fewer and, unless his wife or wives were expert and industrious craftswomen, his possessions usually were less elaborate than those of wealthy men. With the help of relatives he could muster horses and other costly items necessary to purchase a valuable sacred bundle. But, as Wissler (1912 a, p. 277) has stated, it was only the wealthy who could purchase large or important bundles without help.

In numbers the middle class comprised the largest of the three Blackfoot classes, and the majority of the population. This class

[1] Denig said of the Crow, "If a man has all his horses stolen or killed, he can generally find friends to give him others, tho the giver expects payment when the receiver shall have retrieved his horses or be able to pay in some way" (Denig, 1936, p. 32).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

622 planation of the Blackfoot chieftancy in the 1870's, is more exact and detailed:

> The position of a chief was neither hereditary nor elective, but wholly self-creative. The young man ambitious of this distinction sought to be conspicuous for energy and daring in war, intelligence in council, and liberality in giving feasts and providing tobacco for the guests of his lodge. The exhibition of these qualities in more than ordinary degree would win him the respect and confidence of one after another of his band, who were ready to follow his guidance and accept his council. When this point was reached he began to have influence and be regarded as a leader or chief. Practice in obtaining popularity was usually productive of skill in retaining it, and once a chief the distinction was pretty certain to attach for life. The greatness or authority of a chief depended wholly upon his popularity, upon the proportion of the tribe whose confidence could be won and adhesion secured. The number of chiefs that might be in a band was dependent simply upon the number who could secure this following. This system did not necessarily array the members of a band into opposing factions, for several chiefs might enjoy the equal consideration of all.
>
> But besides the general respect in which a chief was held he had his purely personal followers, consisting usually of his relatives and nearer friends. [Bradley, 1923, pp. 280–281.]

Discussions of the band chieftaincy by later investigators among the Blackfoot, Grinnell (1892, p. 219) and Wissler (1911, pp. 22–23), confirm Bradley's keen analysis, as does the testimony of my informants.

622 703 The latter insisted that the major requirements for band leadership were (1) an outstanding, proved war record and (2) a reputation for generosity. Some contended that no man was recognized as a band chief unless he had taken a gun from the enemy in hand-to-hand combat, the highest war honor. Lazy Boy could recall a single exception to this requirement among the Piegan. Night Shoot was an experienced horse raider, although his record of coups was not outstanding. He brought home many horses and distributed them liberally among the members of his band. He was very generous and well liked, and became a band chief by popular demand.

It is certain that the requirement of outstanding war achievement for band leadership had social value. It insured that men who rose to power in the band were brave and experienced warriors qualified to lead in the formulation of plans for the protection of the band and revenge of enemy action against it. In an atmosphere of almost constant warfare with neighboring tribes it was necessary that political leaders be warriors of proved mettle.

622 577 Informants insisted that the requirement of generosity was by no means of secondary importance in the selection of a band chief. A stingy warrior was not recognized in spite of his war record. In discussing the loaning of horses to the poor, Lazy Boy volunteered,

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"That is how you get your leadership. When people want a chief they select a good hearted man." [72]

To dispense patronage the ambitious man required a degree of wealth. Probably this helps to explain why some early writers found that the chieftaincy appeared to run in families. Provided a member of a chief's family had a good war record he possessed a distinct advantage in the reputation of his family for past favors granted to members of his band. Other band members had confidence in his ability to use his inherited wealth to maintain the standard of generosity toward them set by his father or elder brother.

The Blackfoot band, the social and political unit throughout the greater part of the year, was a fluid organization. Both the number of bands and the membership of each was subject to almost continual change. Father Point, who spent the winter of 1846–47 with the Piegan claimed there were only "seven or eight fractions of the Piegan tribe" (De Smet, 1905, vol. 3, p. 952). Yet Wissler (1911, p. 21) listed 23 Piegan bands. While it is possible Point may have missed some Piegan bands in his calculation it is more probable that the bands named by Wissler were not all contemporaneous. Heavy losses attendant upon war casualties and severe epidemics necessitated combinations and regroupings of bands, to provide camps of sufficient strength to withstand and revenge enemy attacks. Population growth tended to encourage division of larger bands into smaller units requiring less buffalo for subsistence. Grinnell believed the existence of bands bearing the same name among two Blackfoot tribes was due to persons leaving one tribe to live with another who chose to preserve the name of their former band rather than unite with an existing band in their new tribe. He also claimed that "within the last forty or fifty years (i. e. since ca. 1840–50) it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens (band), to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes (bands) often received outsiders" (Grinnell, 1892, p. 210). Although Blackfoot bands may originally have been composed of groups of blood relatives, it is certain that, by processes such as described above, they became mixed long ago. In my informant's youth band exogamy was preferred but not obligatory. Both parents of some of my older informants were of families of the same band affiliation.

Informants indicated that poor people were the most migratory in their band affiliations. They became camp followers of the leader

[72] Opler indicated the situation was similar among the Southern Ute, "A man would be wanted for chief if he gave away horses to all those poor people" (Opler, 1940, p. 165).

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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horse to the bride; one horse was given to Wooden Ears who had been Charging Buffalo's partner in the Horn Society, and who, if one can trust custom, had made an appropriate gift because of that relationship; and the finest saddle horse was handed over to John Bruce in exchange for a nice large house that Charging Buffalo wished to occupy.

The more general society give-aways made demands particularly on the rich, but these demands were rarely resented. Irregular, and usually not onerous, they enhanced the prestige of the giver. In no way did they raise the status of those who received. Requests for special objects could, it is true, only be denied with loss of face, but no Blood would hesitate to circumvent expectation by resorting to the simple device of "shaming," well known long before the reserve period.[122] One example will suffice. In 1905 Mountain Pine led a fine buckskin horse to the corral. Crow Chief admired the animal saying, "I wish I owned that horse." Mountain Pine answered, "You can have it if you face to the east and cry 'Mama, I wish I owned such a horse.'" He then handed over the horse while the bystanders laughed heartily. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, Crow-Chief refused to accept it.[123]

Relationships within the age-grade societies were still a matter of group concern, and great efforts were made by the wealthier members to be "brotherly" and back up the poor. The methods employed were frequently devious. When Ghost Moon brazenly demanded a new saddle from Moose Dung, a poor member of Middle Bear's society, the latter felt impelled to satisfy the request to save his *taka's* face, without, however, benefiting him more directly.[124]

In these years of economic expansion, old ways of spending were exaggerated. Favorites were showered with expensive gifts and raiment. A saddle costing $80–$100, silver spurs, special boots, finely beaded blankets, all might be lavished on a small and favored son. He was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large payments were made not only in horses, but in fine goods. As the herds grew these payments became more ostentatious. The Long Time Pipe alone sold several times for 100 horses.

Nor was it enough for a prosperous Blood to have one favorite. Many had two or more. Pointed Plume said he wanted to "treat his two boys alike." Others frankly stated they wanted to show how rich they were. To all it gave great satisfaction to add to prestige by conspicuous spending.

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[122] There are many ways in which shaming could be used to emphasize wealth differences. For instance, at a formal smoke where bundles were named and prices given, "Those having a long list were cheered, while those having a short one were ridiculed." (Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 276).

[123] Biele, Field Notes.

[124] *Ibid.*

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425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are 184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law [606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt 937 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband 577 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own 556 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may 184 entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik- 581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Seizers.[158] Excepting for the Horns, who present a special problem, membership falls off noticeably in the upper grades. This may well have been the tendency in the pre-reserve period, for increasing age, limited bundles,[159] and selective memberships[160] were all considerations then. They figure equally prominently in the reserve period; but with the introduction of a money economy divorced from a horse economy, a large sector of the population voluntarily cut itself off from ceremonial purchase. Successful farmers, who had only enough horses for their agricultural needs, were unwilling to jeopardize their profits by paying out valuable animals for old-time "respect." From 1910–1920, the wealthy horse and cattle owners (who at that time also had sufficient cash) were little concerned with this heretical attitude; but their almost unrelieved poverty since 1920 (except for horses) has made them more sensitive to the continued refusal of this group to participate in the traditional way. In 1939, though waning membership was not an issue, the Horn Society exerted tremendous pressure on the richest farmer to join its ranks. His two fine teams and well-rigged buggy, his bolts of cloth and many blankets made an impressive display at the public transfer. But he himself showed little appreciation of the honor accorded him. "Blackmail," he called it, and his complaints both before and after initiation were many and loud.

The Pigeons, the youngest of the graded societies,[161] are having difficulties too, but these are difficulties of membership. Ideally, each group is supposed to sell out after four years, but the present owners have had to hold their bundles for more than seven. The younger men are reluctant to make even the nominal payment of "$5.00 and a couple of blankets," for the questionable advantage of traditional privilege.

A combination of factors has contributed to the exceptional popularity of the Horns: (1) they merged with the Bulls, thus increasing the number of memberships available; (2) only in this society do the wives join with

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[158] These data and those which follow on the Women's Society, Sun Lodge builders, medicine pipes and beaver bundles were collected in the main by Marjorie Lismer and Harry D. Biele. Unfortunately, limited time and the great size of the reserve made extensive checking impossible. They are offered here, not as a completely accurate record, but in the belief that, in a general way, they reflect certain broad social trends.

For comparison, cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–6 and 369. For an early list of Blackfoot societies, see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ff.

[159] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 386.

[160] *Idem.*

[161] Wissler has made a point for society rank based on "assumed seniority in historical origin" (*Blackfoot Societies*, p. 368). Such an assumption would be strengthened by the position of the Pigeons who are not listed by Wissler as late as 1910 for the Blood.

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their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerize, but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery, a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

> Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he

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[162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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577 156 562 [556] Some few women on the reserve are called "manly-hearted."[183] They come, with one exception, from families rich in horses. The exception, significantly, is a half-breed whose antecedents had neither property nor prestige. However, her aggressive personality and her present success—she is now the wife of a chief and in good circumstances—make her inclusion in this group completely acceptable to the Blood.[184]

[556] In many respects the behavior of these women resembles the behavior of men of wealth, but the essential pattern of their lives always remains safely within the framework set for women as a sex. A manly-hearted woman never wears men's clothing; she marries, and frequently she marries many times; she has children. But early in childhood she will exhibit her independence and aggressiveness. She will strike other children who are older and bigger; she will even strike an older brother who is a privileged "favorite." She will visit around and stay out over-night though other girls remain obediently at home. She may make advances in affairs of the heart; she may refuse to marry the man of her father's choice; she will marry in her own time, and she will not hesitate to beat off an irate husband. She [581] is usually an excellent worker. This as well as her passionate response to love make her a desirable mate despite her wilfulness and domineering ways.

It is on the strength of her total personality that a woman is called manly-hearted, and the category covers a considerable range of behavior. Some may become vowers of the Sun Lodge, and their sexual aggressiveness may be tempered by the "chaste" life required of them.[185] Others may believe that their status depends upon building up a "favorite," even if he dominate them; still others may feel sufficiently secure in their own wealth to dominate their "favorite."[186] [556] Trends of behavior observable among women of wealth are intensified in the manly-hearted woman. While frequently disparaged, they make her, paradoxically enough, even more desirable.

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[184] [183] Lewis has reported that there are fourteen manly-hearted women on the North Piegan Reserve (*Manly-Hearted Women among the North Piegan*, p. 178). The Blood, whose population is more than double that of the North Piegan, cited only nine (Harry D. Biele, Field Notes). It is possible that due to the spread of wealth, those personality traits that distinguish the manly-hearted woman have become so general in certain groups of Blood, that the special designation seems of lesser significance. For an example in the past, see Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A

[184] [184] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177. Here Lewis claims that such an upstart would never be classified among the manly-hearted women by the Piegan.

[796] [185] I know of no manly-hearted woman vowing the Sun Lodge in bravado, fully aware that her former life made her ineligible to do so. For a contrary statement, see Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 184). However, there are instances among the Blood where a woman was forced against her will to make the vow so that her husband might be sure of her virtue. Such sins do not go unpunished. (See story p. 51.) B

[186] See pp. 65 ff. C A

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

B. [See Category 796--Analyst] C. [See Category 159--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

175 another."[187] More leniency was shown to the partner in sin. Maximilian
684 continues, "Often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his horse or other valuable property, to which he must submit quietly."[188]
684 Today infidelity, or suspicion of it, are also severely punished. Beatings are frequent; one old lady still carefully conceals her mutilated face behind her shawl; and Big Head, recently released from prison, killed his wife because rumors of her misconduct had reached him during his confinement.[189]

593 Absence from home is perhaps the greatest threat to a man's marital peace.
937 His present fears echo attitudes of the past, grounded in an economy that made more or less long separations between husband and wife inevitable. The small raiding or hunting parties, which might include the husband, left plenty of men available for romance. Today, although life is more sedentary, dwellings are isolated. A few hours in the field, a trip to town, are enough to kindle the flame. But it is the jail sentence, that frequent experience, which most nearly approximates the extended absences of a former time. Legal protection from a surprise return adds to the safety of wifely adventure; it also intensifies the fears of the ever-suspicious husband.

593 Some few women are notoriously jealous of their husbands, but primarily
152 it is the men who exhibit the greatest sexual insecurity. A man who shows
578 no jealousy is considered brave; yet a young mother eager to see her son of
[577] six become a good fighter will proudly encourage him when he shakes his fist in fury at an old medicine man whom he considers his "rival." From
[865] earliest babyhood, a child is exposed to the violent quarrels of his parents. He hears his mother's virtue assailed; he sees his father beat her for misbehavior. Against such a background and such conditioning, traditionally
[181] desirable attitudes are achieved with difficulty. In this society, jealousy has become obsessional; even chiefs find it difficult to act within the prescribed pattern, and serious lapses are not unknown.

593 Few men trust their wives. A seemingly contented husband of twenty
578 years will, at the first sign of anger, hurl accusations of infidelity at his
152 mate. One husband refuses to permit his wife to remove her shawl in her own
831 house for fear she will succumb to the casual advances of some passerby. Another will suspect his wife of indiscretions while he is busy not one hundred yards away; still another will insist that his wife ride a horse at his side
[575] (an unwomanly occupation) so he can keep her within sight. Some will refuse to enter the Horn Society, because they feel unable to suppress their jealousy, as they are expected to do during their term of membership. A man will quickly, and often with little reason, accuse a brother of being his
[572] wife's lover. "You may joke," they say, "with your *taka*'s wife, but if you

[187] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253.
[188] *Idem*.
[189] Letter to Harry D. Biele in September, 1939.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief. 593

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory. 837 581

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interesting" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor. 593 837 595 178 [578]

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at. 593 837 [577]

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows: 586

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet- 593 [586] [577] [586] [152] 593 586 152 578

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

578 matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for
591 a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of
[606] discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by
[178] the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

602 Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days.
574 Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables
[577] and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

121 Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different
159 way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

159 Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
● [571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
582 obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were [684] ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Pat- [152] terns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten [578] merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [593] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warn- 593 ing by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly under- 571 stood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a 937 wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had 684 supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [687] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
128 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
121 made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively success-
ful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

114 I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
593 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
551 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about mainly
511 by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
114 individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrusted them back on
577 kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
511 who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
[182] Families with incomes of approximately $4,000 per annum and up tended to
114 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
551 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
593 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a
511 strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the
period when these families are doing reasonably well.

114 And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
593 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
562 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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643 622 [431] a chief's gifts do not require reciprocation. Another chief was said to have impoverished himself by a neglect of personal for tribal affairs. This, of course, is not considered wise in Blackfoot terms, yet his chiefly zeal was approved. One chief declared:

> As a chief you have to see that other people get enough and you get less. You defer to others in selecting your personal area for haying and for remunerative odd jobs provided by the agent.

Thus even in competition for the benefits of the trust fund chiefs must look after the general welfare.

[577] There are also certain rules of conduct. A chief should act with dignity—when an agent dismissed certain chiefs for drunkenness and immorality, it was with the approval of many Indians. To gamble is also regarded disapprovingly, although chiefs may participate in ceremonial hand games.

643 657 As a group the council of chiefs forms a two-way communication device between agent and Indians. Regular meetings of the council, usually attended by many tribal members, occur four times a year and may be convened at other times by the agent to take up special matters. Though the minutes of these meetings have been kept only of late, it is apparent that the agent uses part of the time to communicate general notices. For example, at the special meetings of May 30, 1941, the agent explained that Canadian draft laws require Indian participation in the armed forces, that there was to be a national census, and that due to the glut of wheat in Alberta elevators, wheat raising was not to be encouraged. On the other side, the chiefs use these meetings to communicate to the agent tribal wishes, such as requests for wagons, repair of wells, and compensation for damages over a broken fence.

The agent, in whose hands final adjudication of disputes lies, also uses the council as an advisory board. Problems of inheritance resulting from Indians dying intestate are discussed by the council and recommendations made in accordance with Blackfoot concepts of justice. Conflicts over property, as in the case of a divorced couple, admission of outside Indians to the benefits of the reserve, recognition of adoption, and questions on the validity of a marriage are typical items brought up for settlement. The council may also certify the needs of persons who have appealed for wagons, tents, and other tangible benefits from the trust funds.

At these meetings considerably more falls in practice under council jurisdiction than is granted under the narrow statement of

ANNOTATED LIST OF PLANTS

824 The following list of plants and their functions reflects the Blackfoot emphasis (see Overview) rather than botanical taxonomy. We have found a ratio of social restriction corresponding to the amount of power attributed to the plants: the more powerful the plant, the more restricted was its use.

SWEET GRASS

Hierchloe odorata

Sweet grass (Fig. 1)* grows from creeping rhizomes throughout the low meadows of southern Alberta and Montana. The specific epithet odorata bespeaks its delicate scent, which graces any place the dried grass is kept. In Blackfoot the plant is siputs-sima ("fragrant smell").

The grass could be harvested by anyone. This was done in late summer. A handful of stems was bound at the lower end with other stems; then it was braided into double strands about 45 cm long (Fig. 2). We were not able to obtain an origin myth for this plant; indeed, there may not be one.

778 783 824 Virtually every holy artifact was incensed with sweet grass. The incensing usually was done at a smudge altar (Fig. 3) and with the help of a ceremonialist. Several small pieces were broken from the braid and placed on hot coals, which had been removed from the fire with a forked 782 stick. Prayers accompanied every smudge. It was believed that a person 577 would not lie if he used the incense. Medicine-pipe owners were required to burn the incense twice a day: in the morning and in the evening.

[782] Almost every ceremony began with prayer and the burning of sweet grass. Sweet grass was essential to the raising of a fallen dancer or fallen

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

*Figures follow the text.

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

myths, the hero having appeared and transferred the ritual. Thus we have the functioning of a well-known factor in primitive speculative thought. The tendency to find a mythical origin for every important ceremonial practice is common to all peoples, as is also the tendency to conventionalize the kind of associations formed.

Another characteristic of this group is the frequency with which a woman plays an important part in the transfer of rituals and other powers, — the Elk-Woman, the Otter-Woman, the Woman-who-Married-the-Buffalo, the Woman-who brought-the-Pipe, etc. In almost every case the woman has sexual relations with a male being from whom, or by virtue of whom, the ritual or power comes, and such grant is often manifestly to appease a wronged husband or parents. However, this may be a more or less conventional mode of constructing a myth, based upon the same human interests that make the love-passion the core of all novels.

Now we may consider myths of cultural and other origins. In the first place, these narratives are such as account for certain conditions in humanity and nature, and certain folk-practices. In the second place, the origins and transformations are primary rather than secondary parts of the narratives, in which respect they stand in opposition to a large part of the preceding group. Such a distinction is by no means absolute, and some of the narratives in this group will doubtless impress the reader as not quite within the bounds of the above characterization; yet he should not forget that we have also been influenced in the selection by the attitude of the narrators and others toward the tales themselves.[1] One of the chief points of note in this group is the lack of correspondence to the mythology of the Plains. In most cases the narratives seem to be original with the Blackfoot, yet this is relative, since here and there are suggestions of parts of other myths. Again, these narratives are relatively few in number, and in most cases lack the classical ring of other groups.

The miscellaneous group contains various elements. Some are recognizable as Plains and Eastern tales; while others, again, seem to be original. The definite intrusion of what are regarded as Kutenai myths is a matter of interest, because the narrator, a Piegan, is credited with the chief responsibility of their introduction in association with the Black-Tail deer-dance. Narratives Nos. 19, 20, deserve special mention, because they are told as ethical puzzles usually exciting discussion, different persons having more or less fixed opinions about the matter. So far as known to the writer, such narratives have not been reported by other observers. A large part of this

[1] In the case of the Medicine-Hat tale, the origin of the name is to a degree secondary; but the real significance of the narrative is that it accounts for the origin of a special method for trapping eagles.

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
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and the Frog did as before. In this way they managed to get along until the Frog reached her limit. Now the Horned-Toad was nearly dead. The Frog was holding him up, and struggling along, crying. When they were nearly dead, it began to rain again. Then they started on much refreshed. At last they reached the lake. Then they were married. Now it has boiled over.

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18. Turtle Goes to War.

Once there was a lake with many camps on its shores. This was a long time ago. One day a Turtle came to the shore. He went up to a lodge, crawled into it, and found a woman asleep. When the man came home, he saw his wife's head in the centre of the lodge. Her head had been cut off by the Turtle. He saw the Turtle trying to pull it toward the back-rest, but it was too heavy for him. As he pulled he sang, "Turtle has hair [head]." The Turtle held the head by the braids.

Now, the people laid hold of the Turtle. One of them said, "We will make a big fire and burn him in it." Then they began to make a big fire. All this time the Turtle was trying to get away from the people who were holding him, to get into the fire. Then the people said, "He must belong in there. The fire must be his place." Then some one said, "Let us smash him between two rocks." When the Turtle heard this, he ran and got upon a rock himself. When the people saw this, they said, "He must have come out of the rock. He is too willing. Let us hang him." So they brought a piece of sinew and made a loop; but the Turtle took it out of their hands and put it around his neck. Then the people said, "He is too willing. We cannot kill him that way." Then some one suggested throwing him into the deep water. As soon as the Turtle heard this, he began to cry and pull back. The people said, "Now we have it. We have found out what will kill him." So they threw him into the deep water. When the Turtle was in the centre, he came to the surface, floated on his back and then on his breast, singing, "Turtle has a scalp! turtle has a scalp!" [1]

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19. The Warrior's Dilemma.

One time when a war-party went out, they sent a young man ahead to scout. It was dark. As he was going along he saw a lodge all by itself. He went up quietly and looked in. There was no one in the lodge except a man, his wife, and a little child. The little child could just walk and was amusing itself by dipping soup from the kettle with a small horn-spoon.

[1] This is a common myth in the Mississippi basin. See Cegiha Myth, J. O. Dorsey, p. 271; Wissler, Dakota Myths, (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XX, p. 136).

[171]

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The man and his wife were busy talking and paid no attention to the child. Now the child happened to look up and saw the man peeping through the hole, and at once toddled over to the kettle, dipped up some soup in the spoon and held it to the man's lips. He drank it and the child returned to the kettle for more. In this way the child fed him for many minutes. Then he went away. As he was going along down to his party, he thought to himself, "I do not like to do this, but I must tell my party about this lodge. When they know it, they will come and kill these people. Now this little child fed me, even when I was spying upon them, and I do not like to have it killed. Well, perhaps I can save the child; but then it would be too bad for it to lose its parents. No, I do not see how I can save them, yet I cannot bear to have them killed," etc. So he sat down and thought it over. After a while he went back to the lodge, went in and sat down. While the man was getting the pipe ready, the child began to feed him again with the spoon. After he had smoked, he told the man all about it. He explained to him how he had come as a scout to spy upon them, and that he was about to bring up his war-party, but that they had been saved by the little child. Then he directed the man to go at once, leaving everything behind him in the lodge.

Now, the man was very thankful, and offered to give him a medicine-bundle and a suit of clothes; but the young man refused, because he knew that his party would suspect him. Then the man suggested that he might place the bundle near the door, behind the bedding. When the war-party came up and dashed upon the lodge, he could be the first to capture it. (All the important property of the lodge is always kept at the back, opposite the door, and, when a war-party rushes in, the swiftest runs to this place.)

Now the young man went back to his party, told them he had found a lodge, but that he had not been up to it or seen any one. Then they started out at once, and, when they came near the lodge, they set up a whoop and rushed upon it. Now the man kept to the rear, and as his companions were counting coup on the various objects in the lodge, he stood at the door looking around. At last he picked out the bundle and counted coup on it. Now his companions were suspicious, and they said, "Oh! we know how you did this. You warned the people so that they went away, and then you hid these things by the door, that you might get them." They accused him and threatened him, but still he denied any knowledge of the people, or as to how the bundle came to be there. Yet the people were always suspicious of him, and he was always looked upon as the man who betrayed his war-party in order to make a capture.[1]

[1] This narrative and the one that follows usually provoke a discussion, in which some condemn all or parts of the scout's acts, while others defend them. Such tales are looked upon as ethical puzzles to which no satisfactory answers can be given. So far nothing of this kind among other tribes has come to our notice.

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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20. A Warrior's Duty and his Love.

Once a scout going out from his party saw a camp. There were just two lodges. He stole up, and in the smaller one he saw a woman alone. She was beautiful, and struck his fancy. He went back and waited. At midnight he crept into the lodge and spent the night with her. In the morning he went away.

He was the leader of the war-party, and on one pretext and another kept them under cover while he made nightly visits to the woman. He did this for four nights. Then his feeling for the woman began to assert itself. He thought of plans to save her. He might lead her away and kill the others; but they were doubtless her relations and she would mourn for them. Then, if he married her, they would be his relations. Yet he was the leader of a war-party, and had discovered an enemy. At last he brought the woman and her relations to the camp of the war-party, telling them that he had married the woman. Then they went home, and though she was of hostile tribe, they lived together.

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21. The Wolverene-Woman.

These Indians have a belief that there are animals with power to change into human beings. Of these the wolverene is one. It often happens that when a man is out hunting, or sitting alone by his campfire, a very handsome woman will come up. Now if he offers her some of the entrails from his butchering, she will take them daintily between the thumb and the forefinger and then throw them away. This is the sign by which she may be known. Should the man take up his gun, the woman will run away as a wolverene. On the other hand, should he allow her to come into camp and engage in familiarities, evil will follow. As soon as he gets home and smells the fire of the lodges, he will fall down dead. Sometimes he will only faint when he smells the fire of the lodges; but even then he will never be the same person again. When men go out to hunt, they are often reminded to keep a lookout for the Wolverene-Woman. When a woman is out alone, the Wolverene-Woman will appear as a fine young man. If the woman permits herself to be seduced, it will be bad for her. As a rule, her people will never hear of her again; but, should she start back to camp and smell the fire of the lodges, she will surely die.[1]

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[1] For another example of the effect of camp-smoke, see Grinnell, op. cit., p. 133. This is not a formal narrative. While the wolverene is a well-known mythical character, there are no specific myths in which it appears. The Deer-Woman of the Dakota, and the Wolf-Woman of the Pawnee, described by Bush Otter, seem to embody the same conception as is expressed in the above (Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 480, 481).

to get wood for the lodge fire, she herself did the heavy work, the other merely idling about and taking up a few dry branches now and then. To all of which Otter Woman would never make denial, and Talks-with-the-Buffalo would look at her, at each of them in turn, and grimly smile. 595

Otter Woman often came to visit her father and mother and tell them, incidentally, of fresh meanness that the jealous one had put upon her. And at last Eagle Plume, angry and hurt, said to her: "Daughter, I see that I made a mistake in urging you to marry my more-than-friend. I am disappointed in him. As he will not protect you from that lying woman it is for me to do so; go at once, and take up your belongings, and return home." [586]

"No, father, no," she replied. "You showed me my duty to our tribe. I shall remain with the man to whom you gave me, no matter how much his second wife lies about me." [581]

But as Bear Head said afterward, little did Otter Woman, or any of us, realize how mean was that jealous woman's heart.

Came from the north, from the camp of our brother tribe, the Bloods, four young men to visit friends in our camp, and one of them was Low Horn, he who was nicknamed "Handsome Man." And rightly: he was unquestionably the handsomest of all the men of the three tribes of the Blackfeet. So handsome, so graceful in all that he did, so perfect of figure and face that I shall not attempt to describe him. A bachelor and a lady killer he was, too, desired by all the maidens and doubtless by many a married woman. Some men were so jealous of him that when he staged one of his spectacular dances around the circle of the camp, they ordered their women into their lodges, there to remain until he had passed. Yes, Handsome Man was a dandy, a "fop," as we would say. He had no war record other than having been on one successful raid upon the horse herds of the Crees. Was he, as some maintained, a coward, deserving to be forced to wear a woman's gown, instead of shirt and leggings and breechcloth? [152] [577]

On a hot summer morning, soon after he arrived, word went the round of the camp that Handsome Man was going to dance. Under a shelter of poles and brush, close to their lodge, sat Talks-with-the- 595 837

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Man. You shall not, shall not punish her, mutilate her for something that she has not done!" 595 837 623

With that, she clasped Otter Woman closer to her and sat glaring at drooped over Talks-with-the-Buffalo and at the row of chiefs; and they were mute, not yet having recovered from their astonishment at her presence here.

Bear Head gave a little cough. Whispered to me: "I am going to tell them what we know of this."

"Yes," I sighed, and he began.

"Talks-with-the-Buffalo; chiefs; and you, oh, Sun's men: *Apikuni*, here at my side, and I were not invited to this talk, but we anyhow came, and for a purpose—for the good of our tribe. You remember what happened to us some summers back, when a certain woman, vowing that she was pure, a faithful wife, took part in building our great offering to Sun, Sun's lodge, and afterward proved to have been a bad woman. Because of her lying vow her man died; our war parties were defeated; many of our hunters crippled, some killed in their endeavors to keep their loved ones supplied with food. Well, it is to prevent another such misfortune that *Apikuni* and I are here. My friends, not Otter Woman, but her accuser, that woman there, is the unfaithful wife, the secret sweetheart of that one we call Handsome Man." [577] [584]

As Bear Head finished, he was rigidly pointing to *Otahki*. And suddenly she drooped; shrank back from the edge of her couch and faltered: "Oh, no. No. You lie."

"Oh, yes, you bad one. And know this: *Apikuni* and I are the two who discovered you and Handsome Man hugging one another there on the trail," he replied.

"You saw them doing that? When? Tell us about it," Talks-with-the-Buffalo demanded.

"Oh, no. No," *Otahki* wailed; and drawing her blanket over her head, sank still lower upon her couch and trembled with fear of what was to come.

Bear Head was not five minutes in telling of our discovery of the two in the timber and of *Otahki's* meeting with her lover in camp on the following day. He finished, and Talks-with-the-Buffalo said

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to cross the mountains. They have been up there. Somewhere up there they killed our good friend, Big Snake, and doubtless his three companions also." And then he signed to Painted Shield: "We are glad that you and your friends are here resting with us. Tomorrow you all will be strong enough to go on across the big mountains."

White Wolf then returned. As he came in through the doorway, one of Calf Looking's wives excitedly cried to him: "White Wolf, did you manage to send your son for help for us?"

My father began sign-telling the Crows about a war party that he led to raid the horse herds of the Blue Paint People (Nez Percés) far beyond the Backbone country. I got up, wrapped my robe close about me, and went outside. Tied in front of the doorways were fast buffalo horses of the men who owned them. How I did want to straddle one and ride away! But no, I could not leave my father, be a coward. Whatever was to be his fate must be mine. I thought that the Crows intended to kill us all. All around camp the horses of Calf Looking and his men were grazing, hundreds of them. Of course the Crows were thinking how horses-rich they were going to be; how proud, as they would drive them into the camp of their people, down across the Elk River; how happy they would be, how happy their people, as they rode in, waving the scalps and the guns they had taken from us, and shouting that they had killed off a whole camp of the Pikunis. I could not believe that our messenger would bring Big Lake and his warriors in time to save us.

Perhaps it was not Big Snake's scalp braid that the Crows had hidden, that the dog had found. I wanted to see it. I didn't want to see it. The thought of looking at it made me feel sick. But I must see it. I must be sure that it was or was not the scalp braid of that great Thunder Pipe man. As I thrust aside the door curtain of Little Otter's lodge, his women gave little cries of fear. I said: "Women, are you sure that it is the head hair braid of Big Snake?"

"Looks just like it," Badger Woman answered.

"We are sure of it," said Spear Woman, Little Otter's sits-beside-him-wife.

"But you may be mistaken," I said.

"You shall see it. You, Badger Woman, show it to him."